

**Richmond, Va., Nov. 4, 1912.**

The Chamber of Commerce has grown fast and will continue to grow. With more members, thousands of dollars more to spend in expediting Richmond and the support and co-operation of the municipal government, its future is full of glowing promise.

**FEWER ELECTIVE OFFICES ESSENTIAL TO POPULAR RULE.**

Of all the crimes committed in the name of the people, none is greater than misleading them into acting against their own interest under the delusion that they are enlarging their rights and liberties. Deceived by the crafty clamor of demagogues, the people have time after time surrendered their welfare to the selfish manipulation of the few, but the surrender was always because the people were made to believe that they were increasing their power. As Burke put it, "the people never give up their liberties but under some delusion."

"Shall the people rule?" cry the enemies of popular government in Virginia at this hour, in their attempt to persuade the people to vote for the proposed constitutional amendments which would permit unlimited tenure of office to city treasurers and city commissioners of the revenue. The electorate is being deceitfully led to believe that the present constitutional limitations upon the tenure of city treasurers and city commissioners of the revenue are restraints upon the rights and liberties of the people. Editorial demagogues, either constitutionally misinformed or intentionally misleading, have circulated this false and deceitful impression, and have doubtless deluded many of the people into thinking that they are deprived of freedom because two city officers under the present Constitution have limited terms.

The fallacy of this demagogic clamor lies here: the measure of popular liberty is not the number of offices filled by popular election. That government is not the most democratic which has the longest ballot or the largest list of elective offices. A genuine popular government is one in which only those offices are elective which are important enough to attract and merit public examination, and in which few elective offices are filled by election at one time, so that ample public examination may be had of the candidates offering. Many administrative offices require only clerical ability, and in such offices the people cannot be expected to interest themselves. If the people are not interested, the office should not be filled by election, because, if the office is so filled, the incumbents often take advantage of the people's lack of attention to them and perform their duties inefficiently and detrimentally to the public good. What is there about the offices of city treasurer and city commissioner of the revenue that is interesting to the people? What can candidates for these positions do to show their fitness over rival claimants for the positions? What can any candidate promise more than routine efficiency? The people are never interested in an office which can be conducted in only one way. The question at the polls narrows down as to which candidate shall draw the salary.

Too many obscure offices are now elective. The more obscure and uninteresting to the people the office, the weaker the control of the people over it. Only important offices should be elective, offices large enough to focus upon themselves the attention of the people. Offices which require that expert administration which can only be secured by the immunity of the officeholder from political interference should be surrounded by that immunity. The people cannot be deluded by demagogues if the confusion caused by multiplicity of elective offices to be filled cease to exist; they cannot be misled if they free from political control those offices which cannot be justly administered unless divorced from political influence.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 4, 1912.

## THE POLLS TO-MORROW, VIRGINIANS!

It is for the Democrats of Virginia to decide to-morrow whether or not they will put Virginia in the front rank of the Democratic line of march. It is for them to give or withhold from the first Virginia whom they have had an opportunity to vote in sixty years the largest vote east in the Old Dominion under the present Constitution.

The question is not whether William and Marshall shall have Virginia's vote in the electoral college; that is a certainty. The vital question is whether they shall give them the complete support to which they are entitled. If the full Democratic vote is split in the Southern States, the Democratic nominees will secure a majority of the popular vote as well as a majority of the electoral college. The Democratic vote Tuesday is the vote that will swell the hope of other parties to make eventual inroads into the integrity of the Democratic party in Virginia; if the Democratic vote is large, the other parties must construe it as evidence that the Democratic party is unimpaired by disunion, but comes up to the polls with a full front.

Every Democrat who is loyal to his party will vote Tuesday. If any man thinks that his vote is not needed to secure Democratic success, let him consider what the effect would be if the party if all other Democrats were to vote the same position in regard to the polls. All Democrats are under common obligation to go to the polls, and the ballot box is the one crucible in which party loyalty can be tested.

But the voter who contemplates voting his ballot for Taft or Roosevelt, or any other than the Democratic candidate Tuesday, remember that by so voting he will probably give the power of his ballot in the elections for the next four years to the Democratic party. He has the power to make the test for voting hereafter. Democratic primaries is whether or not the individual voted for Woodrow Wilson in 1912. If there be any Democrat who contemplates casting his supplementary vote for the Progressive Republican or Republican candidate Tuesday, let him consider that if he does so his vote will probably be counted for four years. The vote of him who does not vote for the Democratic ticket Tuesday will probably count for nothing in State elections for the next four years.

To the polls to-morrow, Virginians! To the call of your community, to the call of your party, for the first time in sixty years a Virginian will enter the White House; let him enter with the vote of every Virginia Democrat behind him.

## CHAMBER OF COMMERCE CAMPAIGN.

We have demonstrated the strength and solidarity of Richmond's commercial interests has ever been given to the wonderful increase in membership and income of the Chamber of Commerce in the present active campaign. Every loyal citizen should be proud of an institution that has increased in size and influence nearly two-thirds in a few days. To add new members to the original 500 was judged to be a tremendous achievement, but now that its accomplishment is certain, it is convincing proof of the spirit of co-operation and energy that is rapidly putting Richmond in the front rank of American cities. The gentlemen of the committees who have made this increase possible have earned the gratitude of the community, not only for their actual work, but for the lesson they have given of what can be done by determination and enthusiasm. We trust that the next few days will raise the figures to above their own large hopes.

An organization that unifies and directs the vast potential power for material and social betterment massed in its membership is of vital importance to the city. It is an instrument by means of which big plans can be made and pushed to successful conclusion. Its strength and its opportunities are ten times greater than the individual parts. It has the momentum and authority that come with co-operation. It sets "team" work against the haphazard results of divided effort. It represents all of Richmond and labors for the good of all Richmond.

The immediate response to this invitation to get together and help means more business and professional men have the right spirit. They realize that whatever helps the community helps them. This kind of civic enthusiasm is what counts. The man who refuses to join the Chamber of Commerce because he cannot spare time will help him in dollars and cents not down to a ledger to blind modern methods of progress. Every increase in transportation facilities, every improvement in edu-

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Education, every addition to the civic and business equipment of Richmond, means a greater opportunity for the individual. By joining with others, he opens up new fields, and upon his own skill and energy depends what advantage he may make of them.

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## PISTRATUS AND ROOSEVELT.

Is there anything in which the Muse of History will not repeat herself if she is given time? Colonel Roosevelt, throughout his campaign has claimed to be the embodiment of "democracy," to have inherited a combination Jeffersonian and Jacksonian mantle. His "progressiveness," he has iterated and reiterated, was the only simple, pure true democracy; all other was perverted, spurious and debased, and he has resorted to an endless variety of specious argument and artful assertion to convince the people of his right of pre-emption to the claim aforesaid and his utter personal unselfishness.

In a speech he made just after he was wounded by a frenzied fanatic he said: "I am not thinking of my own success. I am not thinking of my own life, or of anything connected with me personally. I am not speaking of myself at all. I give you my word, I do not care a rap about being stabbed, not a rap. What I care for is my country." On one occasion Pistratus, "the celebrated Athenian who obtained the tyranny of Athens," appeared in the arena and exhibited wounds, inflicted, he said, in a foul attack of his political foes—his foes because he was a friend of the people. In justice to Colonel Roosevelt it must be chronicled that he did not affirm in words that his wound was inflicted by his political foes, but the parallel or coincidence is exceedingly interesting and suggestive.

Through, his interest and suggestive-

## On the Spur of the Moment.

By Roy K. Moulton.

The campaign. Who makes us think that black is white? Down at the town hall every night? Who's full of bunk and full of fight? The orator.

Who sees naught but a sky that's blue? Who's optimistic through and through? Who claims the earth and all in view? The campaign manager.

Who says he will cure all our ills? If we will try his brand of pills? Who hands out patriotic thrills? The candidate.

Who passes out the punk cigars? And argues on the trolley cars? Who sidesteps, feints and ducks and spins? The ward leader.

Who has to stand for the harangue? And listen to the entire gang? But ain't converted worth a hang? The voter.

## THE MOTIVE BEHIND THE BALLOT.

Democracy is such a sounding word, so vague and magnificent, so splendid a veil for a dim belief, that we are prone to forget that it means nothing but "the people." Its processes suggest the slow movement of a glacier, but in reality democracy is only some millions of democrats, plain human beings, wrought upon by astoundingly varied emotions and beliefs. To-morrow these tumultuous atoms will go to the polls and vote, and each vote will be governed by personal motives, so complex and yet so simply human that it is like answering the Sphinx to tell why men vote thus and so.

Probably most men believe they vote according to reason, yet nothing seems clearer than that the majority vote according to sentiment. They don't know what they want, they feel what they want. But so far is feeling a better guide than reason, for the result will be as it should, for it will satisfy the most voters.

Some will vote for the candidate of their traditional belief. They will remain Democrats or Republicans because they always have been, and to leave the party of their fathers would be to break one of the conventions that keep them sane and on the straight path. They are party men by inertia. Others will change from their past allegiance just for the glory of change. They have the nonconformist temperament. They are restless, experimental, impatient of the rules, even when they lay down the rules themselves. They are not independent, but love variety.

Too many will vote for continuing their own peace and plenty, because peace and plenty is their platform. Officeholders, tucked into snug berths, will try to tuck themselves in more firmly. The opulent and well-fed beneficiaries of special privilege will discover many plausible reasons for doing their little to make opulence and good feeling permanent in their lives. They will view with alarm what threatens the padded luxury and lordly power they love.

Theorists will vote for their theories, and fanatics for their fads. Some tag from a platform will obscure for them all bigger issues. Many a sentimentalist, full of the new faith of social justice and brotherhood, will join queer companions in his blind desire to hurry the millennium. Women who vote will probably be moved by moral issues rather than economic arguments, and the justly celebrated feminine intuition will be worked overtime.

The disgruntled and down-trodden, in fact or fancy, will vote for whatever revolution seems most likely to put them on top. The workingman will vote honestly for his own interest, though doubtless often sadly misguided as to where it really lies. To a large group of Americans the election will have all the characteristics of a sporting event. They will gamble on "Old Teddy" or "The Professor" for the inexplicable reason that he, for the hour, is "their man," and they want to back a "winner."

Finally, millions of Americans will consider almost prayerfully their own hopes for a fuller and sweeter life, their duty to their fellowmen and posterity, the claims of truth and equality and justice, the promises they have heard and the solemn promptings of their own consciences, and having received what light they could, will vote as freemen of a great nation.

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What will guide your hand to-morrow?

## THE MOTIVE BEHIND THE BALLOT.

Democracy is such a sounding word, so vague and magnificent, so splendid a veil for a dim belief, that we are prone to forget that it means nothing but "the people." Its processes suggest the slow movement of a glacier, but in reality democracy is only some millions of democrats, plain human beings, wrought upon by astoundingly varied emotions and beliefs. To-morrow these tumultuous atoms will go to the polls and vote, and each vote will be governed by personal motives, so complex and yet so simply human that it is like answering the Sphinx to tell why men vote thus and so.

Probably most men believe they vote according to reason, yet nothing seems clearer than that the majority vote according to sentiment. They don't know what they want, they feel what they want. But so far is feeling a better guide than reason, for the result will be as it should, for it will satisfy the most voters.

Some will vote for the candidate of their traditional belief. They will remain Democrats or Republicans because they always have been, and to leave the party of their fathers would be to break one of the conventions that keep them sane and on the straight path. They are party men by inertia. Others will change from their past allegiance just for the glory of change. They have the nonconformist temperament. They are restless, experimental, impatient of the rules, even when they lay down the rules themselves. They are not independent, but love variety.

Too many will vote for continuing their own peace and plenty, because peace and plenty is their platform. Officeholders, tucked into snug berths, will try to tuck themselves in more firmly. The opulent and well-fed beneficiaries of special privilege will discover many plausible reasons for doing their little to make opulence and good feeling permanent in their lives. They will view with alarm what threatens the padded luxury and lordly power they love.

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## On the Spur of the Moment.

By Roy K. Moulton.

The campaign. Who makes us think that black is white? Down at the town hall every night? Who's full of bunk and full of fight? The orator.

Who sees naught but a sky that's blue? Who's optimistic through and through? Who claims the earth and all in view? The campaign manager.

Who says he will cure all our ills? If we will try his brand of pills? Who hands out patriotic thrills? The candidate.

Who passes out the punk cigars? And argues on the trolley cars? Who sidesteps, feints and ducks and spins? The ward leader.

Who has to stand for the harangue? And listen to the entire gang? But ain't converted worth a hang? The voter.

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